34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

241 595 [574] [574] [554] the garden area is in a single clearing or several, its total size is heavily influenced by the number of wives a man has to cultivate the fields. A household with one wife tends to have a garden of about 50,000 square feet, while a second spouse increases the area to about 65,000, and a third to approximately 75,000. The areal increases are usually not simple multiples of the number of wives because the demand for food and beer to feed visitors tends to lag behind the increments in additional wives. These figures vary, of course, according to the consumption demands of the household, its number of visitors, and the industry of its inhabitants. A man who wishes to gain prestige may clear garden areas of larger size for each of his wives. In such a case, a household in which there are two wives may sometimes have a total garden of 100,000 square feet or more.

By measuring the yield within a restricted section of garden, the writer was able to arrive at a rough estimate of the quantity of a single harvest per 10,000 square feet of cultivated land. The results indicate that a "one wife" household with a garden of some 50,000 square feet may yield these approximate amounts of the major crops: 300 bushels of manioc; a total of 180 bushels of *papa china*, Araceae corms and sweet potato combined; 300 pounds of peanuts; and 90 stems of plantains and bananas.

241 595 462 [606] [412] [243] 241 476 The preparation of a garden begins with clearing the forest. The head of the household, sometimes assisted by a son or son-in-law, fells and trims the trees and clears the undergrowth with a steel axe and machete. His wife (wives) and daughters (if any) drag the slashings into piles, which are burned ten to fourteen days later, provided the weather is sufficiently dry. Women do not assist in making clearings for maize, since the slashings, in the case of that crop, are left unburned on the ground where they fall. Occasionally a man

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm. Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete. When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working. In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working. Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour, comes back and drinks more beer.

Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the next afternoon, when they eat.

Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more important to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of botanical and zoological species exists in this region,[2] but this variety is typically accompanied by low density of population for any particular species. This low density sometimes

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*aze*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

centers around the girl drinking water mixed with crushed green tobacco leaves in order to enter the supernatural world while sleeping in a nearby lean-to and to have dreams that will augur success in raising garden crops and domesticated animals. The feasts are known as *nua tsayu* (woman tobacco) or *kasakü*.

Polygyny is preferred in the sororal form because sisters are reputed to get along better with one another. A man normally hopes that his father-in-law (*iči*) eventually will give him all the latter's daughters as wives. Accordingly, the son-in-law's conscientious post-marital bride-service is usually performed to keep his wife's father favorably impressed, so that he will provide such additional brides. Thus men occasionally may obtain several sisters as wives. In such cases, the man is assured of an outstanding production of beer and food and, presumably, a relatively tranquil polygynous family.

Wives who are sisters usually work out a hierarchical relationship, with the eldest (characteristically the first bride) assuming direction of activities within the house. The second wife, likewise, somewhat dominates the third, and so on. Still, each wife has her own section of the garden which she exclusively works, her own cook-fire, bed, and pottery vessels. Not uncommonly, when a man marries a widow who has an unmarried daughter, the daughter will eventually, and casually, become his second wife. In such cases of stepdaughter marriage, the mother tends to retain a relatively dominant position over her daughter. The situation is usually more individualistic in the case of wives who are not sisters or mothers and daughters. These tend to be too antagonistic to submit to a consistent dominant-subordinate relationship in household activities.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iči* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*wahe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupī and Ašaŋã are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupī had an unmarried sister, Nampirã. Ašaŋã asked Tukupī for her (the father of Tukupī and Nampirã was dead). Tukupī gave her to Ašaŋã, and Ašaŋã and Nampirã became husband and wife. But then Ašaŋã did not want to give *his own* sister to Tukupī. Also Ašaŋã frequently beat Nampirã when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupī went to the house of Ašaŋã. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupī left. Thereafter, whenever they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 met, they fought. Finally, Aiaŋã gave his sister to Tukupi.
605 Thereafter, when Aiaŋã beat Tukupi's sister, Tukupi beat Aiaŋã's sister.

Tukupi said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupi and Aiaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other
602 relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest
• 606 degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her.
576 For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even
[832] in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for
[578] him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuiá, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *asue* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *asue*, and lives peacefully, the *asue* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *asue*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *asue*, then the father or brother of this *asue* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *asue* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

When you are living well, then, with all your *ati* and *yuri*, if someone comes and kills your *ati*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yuri*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins